

Message Text

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USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
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AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECURITY COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS APRIL 13

REF: USUN 1403

1. SUMMARY: AT THE REQUEST OF THE WESTERN FIVE, THE SECURITY COUNCIL HELD INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS APRIL 13, DURING WHICH THE FIVE CALLED FOR FORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS ON NAMIBIA TO BEGIN EARLY NEXT WEEK. ALL OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OPPOSED THE FIVE'S REQUEST, BUT INDIA AND KUWAIT, WERE RELUCTANT ONLY ABOUT MAKING A DECISION NOW ON THE TIMING OF A FORMAL MEETING AND DID NOT RULE OUT A MEETING NEXT WEEK. ALL OTHERS INDICATED THEIR OPPOSITION TO FORMAL COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS IN ADVANCE OF THE UPCOMING UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA (SCHEDULED APRIL 24-MAY 4) AND ESPECIALLY IN THE ABSENCE OF SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICAN REACTIONS TO THE PROPOSAL. WESTERN FIVE ARGUED FOR EARLY COUNCIL ACTION TO NO AVAIL. CONSULTATIONS CONCLUDED WITH AGREEMENT THAT THE SC PRESIDENT (US) WOULD HOLD INDIVIDUAL CONSULTATIONS REGARDING THE SCHEDULING OF FUTURE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS OF SC AS A WHOLE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SECURITY COUNCIL HELD INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS PM APRIL 13 TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA. DISCUSSION BEGAN WITH AMBASSADOR MURRAY (UK) DELIVERING, ON BEHALF OF THE WESTERN FIVE, THE AGREED TALKING POINTS (REF A) WITH ONE VARIATION: IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE CONSULTATIONS, IN LIGHT OF KNOWN AFRICAN OPPOSITION TO FORMAL SECURITY CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNCIL MEETING, GROUP DECIDED TO REQUEST THAT FORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING BE HELD SHORTLY -- RATHER THAN SPECIFICALLY ON APRIL 17. AFRICAN SC MEMBERS RESPONDED TO WESTERN FIVE PRESENTATION FIRST.

3. GABON (N'DONG), AFTER EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE FIVE, SAID ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN GROUP THAT "WE FIND A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT THIS STAGE PREMATURE, EVEN INAPPROPRIATE" IN THE ABSENCE OF REACTIONS OF THE TWO PARTIES. HE SAID THAT NEXT STEP SHOULD BE TAKEN BY THE PARTIES MOST CONCERNED -- SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA. GABON DID NOT BELIEVE A SC MEETING AT THIS TIME WOULD HAVE ANY EFFECT ON THE SAG. MOREOVER, A MEETING OF THE SC WOULD ONLY CAUSE CONFUSION AND DIVERT ATTENTION FROM THE PLANNED SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. HE APPEALED TO THE WESTERN FIVE TO WAIT UNTIL THE CONCLUSION OF THE SPECIAL GA BEFORE CONVENING A FORMAL SC MEETING. REFERRING BRIEFLY TO THE WORKING DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH FIVE HAD CIRCULATED INFORMALLY,

N'DONG ADDED: "WE KNOW WHAT ROLE HAS BEEN PLAYED BY THE SYG'S REPRESENTATIVE IN RHODESIA. WE SHOULD NOT APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR NAMIBIA WHEN WE KNOW THAT THERE IS NOTHING FOR HIM TO DO."

4. RAMPHUL (MAURITIUS) SUPPORTED GABON'S COMMENTS. HE SAID HE HAD HEARD FROM A WESTERN MEMBER OF THE SC THAT THE FRONT LINE STATES HAD URGED SWAPO TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL AND ADDED: "I HAVE CONSULTED MY COLLEAGUES AND HAVE NOT HEARD CONFIRMATION OF THIS." HE SAID HE WAS NOT OPPOSED, IN PRINCIPLE, TO A MEETING OF THE SC BUT CLAIMED THAT THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE SC NEEDED TIME TO OBTAIN REACTIONS TO WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL FROM THEIR CAPITALS.
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HE ADDED THAT HE THOUGHT WESTERN FIVE REQUEST FOR

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FORMAL SC MEETING WAS PREMATURE IN LIGHT OF TALKS INVOLVING SECY VANCE AND DAVID OWEN WERE ABOUT TO OCCUR IN DAR. HE SAID THAT "AFRICANS FIND IT DIFFICULT TO PRONOUNCE THEMSELVES ON AN ISSUE" ON WHICH THE PARTIES TO THE ISSUE HAD NOT COMMENTED. IN CONCLUSION RAMPHUL MADE A STATEMENT THAT ONLY HE COULD MAKE: "I RECOGNIZE THAT THE SC MUST ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITIES BUT ONE OF THEM IS NOT TO RUSH INTO THINGS."

5. ADEYEMI (NIGERIA) STATED WITH LESS CERTAINTY THAT HIS DELEGATION FOUND THE TIMING FOR THE SC MEETING "UNACCEPTABLE" AND THAT WITHOUT REACTIONS FROM SWAPO THE AFRICAN SC MEMBERS HAD NOTHING TO GUIDE THEM. HE SAID THE SC SHOULD BE PATIENT AND APPEALED TO THE FIVE TO WAIT UNTIL THE END OF THE SPECIAL SESSION BEFORE CONVENING A FORMAL SC MEETING. "A DELAY OF 10 DAYS TO TWO WEEKS WILL NOT RADICALLY CHANGE THE POLITICAL SITUATION." HE OBSERVED THAT THE ROLES OF THE SC AND SPECIAL SESSION WERE COMPLEMENTARY AND NOT IN CONFLICT. HE NOTED THAT ACTION BY THE SPECIAL SESSION AND SECURITY COUNCIL COULD HAVE A SIGNIFICANT CUMULATIVE EFFECT ON SOUTH AFRICA BUT INSISTED THAT THE SPECIAL SESSION SHOULD PRECEDE THE COUNCIL'S DELIBERATIONS.

6. BOTH CHINA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA SUPPORTED THE POSITION OF THE AFRICAN GROUP, WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA DENOUNCING THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL AS UNJUST AND INADEQUATE. VENEZUELA AND BOLIVIA, FOLLOWING THE AFRICAN LEAD, AGREED THAT A SC MEETING WOULD BE

PREMATURE AT THIS TIME. BOLIVIA TERMED THE WESTERN
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FIVE PROPOSAL "EVIDENCE OF REAL COOPERATION AT THE
UN" BUT ADDED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE SECURITY
COUNCIL SHOULD MEET FORMALLY ON NAMIBIA WITHOUT SOME
CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

7. JAIPAL (INDIA) SAID THAT THE FIVE HAD PRODUCED
A PROPOSAL THAT "APPEARS POSITIVE". HE SAID THE SC
WAS NOT SUBORDINATE TO THE GA AND THE GA COULD NOT
DICTATE WHEN THE SC SHOULD MEET. HE DID NOT OBJECT
TO THE SC MEETING TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSAL,
BUT ADDED THAT THE SC PROBABLY COULD NOT COME TO A
DECISION ON THE PROPOSAL WITHOUT THE REACTIONS OF THE
PARTIES ANYWAY. IN CONCLUSION, HE CAUTIONED
THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOT MAKE A SNAP DECISION
NOT TO MEET.

8. BISHARA (KUWAIT) SAID THAT NUJOMA WAS TO BE IN
DAR ES SALAAM APRIL 15-16 DURING MALTA II AND SUGGESTED
THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER THAT
MEETING TO CONTINUE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS. WITH
REGARD TO THE SPECIAL GA SESSION, HE SAID THAT HE
FEARED IT WOULD DAMPEN THE ATMOSPHERE OF CONCILIATION
BY PRODUCING ONLY "A DECLARATION OF THE DESIRABLE."
THE PROPOSAL, HE CONTINUED, BORDERS ON WHAT IS
"OBTAINABLE". HE SAID THE SC SHOULD ONLY WAIT UNTIL AFTER
THE WEEKEND BECAUSE THE SPECIAL SESSION COULD
CREATE "ILL FEELINGS".

9. TROYANOVSKY (USSR) SAID THE SC SHOULD NOT MEET
UNTIL AFTER THE SPECIAL SESSION BECAUSE THE SC COULD
BENEFIT BY THE OPTIONS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS WHO WOULD
BE PRESENT AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. HE CONCLUDED BY
STATING, WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAILS, THAT HIS DELEGATION
HAS CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES WITH THE TEXT OF
THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL.

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10. INTERSPERSED THROUGHOUT THE ABOVE COMMENTARY,
WERE STATEMENTS BY MEMBERS OF THE FIVE, IN DEFENSE OF

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OUR POSITION. THAT DEFENSE CONSISTED OF THE FOLLOWING

ARGUMENTS:

(A) THE FACT THAT NEITHER SWAPO NOR SOUTH AFRICA HAS RESPONDED TO OUR PROPOSAL IS THE REASON WE BELIEVE A FORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IS IN ORDER. SECURITY COUNCIL SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL WOULD FAVORABLY INFLUENCE THE TWO PRINCIPAL PARTIES;

(B) DELAY COULD BE DESTRUCTIVE. THERE IS ALWAYS THE DANGER OF A SOUTH AFRICAN DECISION TO GO AHEAD WITH AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. IN ADDITION, THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NAMIBIA IS VERY TENSE. THAT TENSION HAS ALREADY RESULTED IN THE DEATH OF ONE POLITICALLY SIGNIFICANT NAMIBIAN;

(C) THE ROLES OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE SPECIAL GA SESSION ARE COMPLEMENTARY AND NOT CONFLICTING. WE CERTAINLY HAVE NO INTENTION OF PRE-EMPTING OR LIMITING THE SPECIAL SESSION;

(D) WE HAVE BEEN WORKING FOR OVER A YEAR TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA, CONSISTENT WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385, AND HAVE FREQUENTLY BEEN ASKED OVER THAT YEAR WHEN WE WOULD BE BRINGING THE MATTER TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. NOW WHEN WE COME WITH A REASONABLE AND BALANCED PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD BENEFIT FROM SECURITY COUNCIL SUPPORT, THE COUNCIL DOES NOT WANT TO FACE UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.

11. RAMPHUL OF MAURITIUS RESPONDED IMMEDIATELY TO THE SUGGESTION THAT THE COUNCIL WAS UNWILLING TO ACT. HE STATED THAT HE WOULD NOT LIKE IT SAID THAT THE AFRICAN MEMBERS HAD BLOCKED A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING AND EMPHASIZED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE REASONS
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EXPRESSED FOR OBJECTING TO A MEETING. HE CONCLUDED:
"QUITE FRANKLY I WOULD RATHER BE BLAMED BY THE WESTERN FIVE THAN BY MY AFRICAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS."

12. AMBASSADOR LEONARD CONCLUDED THE CONSULTATIONS BY SUGGESTING THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENCY

CONTINUE TO HOLD INDIVIDUAL CONSULTATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE TIMING OF THE NEXT INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE COUNCIL. THE SUGGESTION WAS ACCEPTED DESPITE INITIAL EFFORTS BY RAMPHUL TO HAVE THE NEXT INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS SCHEDULED FOR THURSDAY, APRIL 20.

13. COMMENT: DESPITE DIFFERENCE OF VIEWS, CONSULTATIONS WERE BUSINESS-LIKE AND FRIENDLY. AFRICAN MEMBERS ARE CLEARLY UNWILLING TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF SWAPO OR RISK

DIMINISHING IMPORTANCE OF SPECIAL SESSION. (GABON IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT PRESERVING THE SPECIAL SESSION SPOTLIGHT FOR ITS PRIME MINISTER.) NEVERTHELESS, AFRICAN EMBARRASSMENT AT BEING THE STUMBLING BLOCK IS NOT HIDDEN AND WILL SURELY PROVE INCREASINGLY UNCOMFORTABLE IF SWAPO'S INTRANSIGENCE CONTINUES. DESPITE FAILURE TO OBTAIN SUPPORT FOR FORMAL COUNCIL MEETING, TODAY'S CONSULTATIONS SERVED TO PUT PRESSURE ON COUNCIL MEMBERS TO MOVE. OUR CONTINUED LOBBYING EFFORTS SHOULD HAVE THE SAME EFFECT AS WE WORK TOWARD FORMAL COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS.
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